'Ôrôê

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Introduction

'Ôrôê (Orowe, ISO693-3: bpk) is an Oceanic language of Austronesian language family spoken in New Caledonia. 'Ôrôê has the characteristics of an isolating language; verbs do not inflect, and nouns do not have morphological case marking. Case marking is nominative-accusative, mainly encoded by prepositions. Nominative case, which is used for S and A, is marked, and accusative case, which is used for O, is unmarked. The basic word order is SVS in intransitive clauses and AVOA in transitive clauses. 'Ôrôê has two types of clauses: verbless and verbal. There are multiple types of possessive construction. Also, there are a variety of verb compounds and verb serializations.

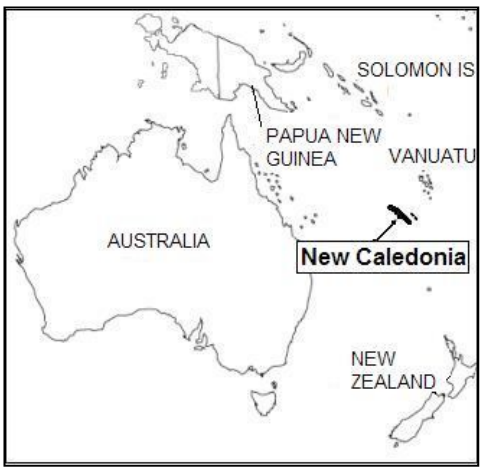

Figure 1. Map of Southwest Pacific

1. The language and its speakers

New Caledonia is located in the region of Melanesia in the southwest Pacific Ocean. It comprises a main island, the Loyalty Islands, and several smaller islands. They form an overseas territory of France. Along with the official language, French, 28 indigenous languages are spoken. These indigenous languages demonstrate great diversity both in phonology and syntax (Osumi 2001). According to the 2004 census, more than half of these have fewer than 1000 speakers (ISEE 2009), and many of the minority languages are not passed on to the younger generations as they had been before.

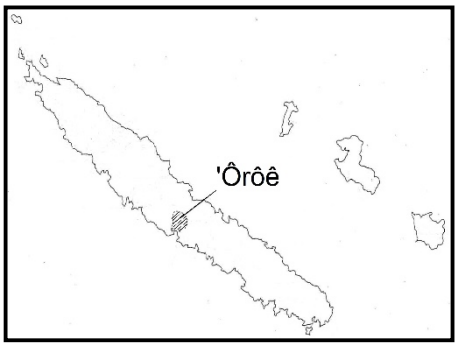

Figure 2. Map of New Caledonia

'Ôrôê is one of these minority languages and has only 355 speakers, according to the 2004 census (ISEE 2009). It is spoken in the tribus (reserves) of Pothé, Azareu, Ny, and Bouirou in the commune of Bourail. The language is called /ʔõɾõe/ by its speakers, and is also called "the language of Bourail" (cf. Lee 1994). Only elderly people speak 'Ôrôê as a first language, and young people usually speak French. Some young people understand 'Ôrôê when they hear it, but they rarely speak it. Previous studies on 'Ôrôê include lexicons (Fenning 1991, A.D.C.K. 2004b), a text book (A.D.C.K 2004a), and studies in phonology (Lee 1994).

2. Phonology

2.1 Inventory of phonemes

The phonological inventory in 'Ôrôê contains 24 consonants and 16 vowels (10 oral vowels and 6 nasal vowels) as shown in Table 1 and Table 2. The proposed orthographic symbols for each phoneme are presented in angled brackets < >.

Table 1. Consonants

	Labial	**Labial velarized**	**Labio-dental**	**Alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Velar labialized**	**Glottal**
Stop	p /p/	pw /pʷ/		t /t/	tj /c/	k /k/	kw /kʷ/	' /ʔ/
	b /b/	bw /bʷ/		d /d/	dj /ɟ/	g /g/	gw /gʷ/	
Nasal	m /m/	mw /mʷ/		n /n/	ny /ɲ/	ng /ŋ/		
Fricative			v /v/			gh /ɣ/		
Approxi-mant		w /w/			j /j/			
Liquid				rr /r/ r /ɾ/				

Table 2. Vowels

Oral

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
Close	i /i/	ü /y/	u /u/
Close mid	e /e/	ù /ø/	o /o/
Open mid	è /ɛ/	ë /ə/	ò /ɔ/
Open		a /a/	

Nasal

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
Close	î /ĩ/	ũ̃ /ỹ/	û /ũ/
Close mid	ê /ẽ/		ô /õ/
Open		â /ã/	

2.1.1 Consonants

Stops consist of voiceless phonemes /p/, /pʷ/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /kʷ/, and /ʔ/ and voiced phonemes /b/, /bʷ/, /d/, /ɟ/, /g/, and /gʷ/. These voiced stops are always prenasalized. Palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/ are realized as [tj] and [ⁿdj], respectively. Nasal phonemes include /m/, /mʷ/, /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/. Palatal nasal /ɲ/ and velar nasal /ŋ/ are only found in a few words. In fricatives, there are only voiced phonemes /v/ and /ɣ/. Intervocalic /**v**/ before the vowel /a/ or /o/ tends to be pronounced as [ʋ]. Approximant phonemes include /w/ and /j/. /**j**/ is realized as [**Æ**] before the vowel /i/. Liquids are a trill /r/ and a flap /ɾ/.

2.1.2 Vowels

The phonemes /i/, /e/, and /ɛ/ are realized as front-unrounded vowels [i], [e] and [ɛ], respectively; and /u/, /o/, and /ɔ/ are realized as back-rounded vowels [u], [o], and [ɔ], respectively. /y/ is realized between the front-rounded vowel [y] and central-rounded vowel [ʉ]. /ø/ is pronounced with slight lip-rounding. It tends to be pronounced as a central-unrounded vowel [ə] by elderly speakers and as a front-rounded vowel [ø] by younger speakers. /ə/ is a schwa [ə], but it tends to be slightly rounded when it appears in a stressed syllable. /a/ is a phoneme between [a] and [ɑ], like /a/ in Japanese.

Oral /e/ and /ɛ/, and /o/ and /ɔ/ are contrastive, but their nasal counterparts are neutralized and are respectively realized as [ẽ] and [õ]. /ỹ/ appears as [ʉ̃], which is only found in an interjection /oʔỹ/ [oʔʉ̃] "I don't know."

Long vowels corresponding to each short vowel are also found, except for long vowels corresponding to /ỹ/ and /ẽ/. Long vowels are expressed by repetition of the symbols (for instance, "aa" for /aa/) following previous grammars of New Caledonian indigenous languages (cf. Osumi 1995, Moyse-Faurie1995, Bril 2002).

2.2 Syllable structure

The possible syllable structure of 'Ôrôê is (C) V. There is no restriction on consonants or vowels occurring word-initially and -medially. Only vowels can occur word-finally. /gʷ/ and /ŋ/ occur only in the word-initial position, and ong nasal vowels are found only in the word-medial or word-final positions.

Consonant clusters are not found in this language, whereas vowel clusters of multiple combinations are attested in the data. Shown below are a few examples.

V+V: /ai/ "to marry" /roẽ/ "angry" /ɟiaɾa/ "mat" /tay/ "lazy"
V+V+V: /puie/ "to open" /ᵐbẽãɛ/ "part" /uiɔɔ/ "saliva" /kuei/ "birds of prey"

2.3 Phonological rules

A vowel occurring before a voiced stop (prenasalized stop) is usually nasalized. Shown below are a few examples.

(1)	/mɛ-ma/	(2)	/ʔa-bia/	(3)	/i	da	baɾi	ve	nã	pol/
	[mẽ-ma]		[ʔã-ᵐbia]		[ĩ	ⁿdã	ᵐbaɾi	ve	nã	pol]
	NMLZ-to.die		NMLZ-to.bend		3SG.NOM	NEG	want	go	NOM	PN
	"death"		"valley"		"Pol does not want to go."					

2.4 Morpho-phonological processes

Among the personal pronouns (see 3.2.1.2), the object/possessive form of the first person singular /jɔ/ and second person singular /i/ have nasal allomorphs /ɲõ/ and /ĩ/, respectively. These allomorphs occur after verbs or bound nouns ending with nasal vowels. Shown below, (4) is the example of /ɲõ/ following a verb ending with a nasal vowel, and (5) is the example of /ĩ/ following a bound noun ending with nasal vowel.

(4) /i nãmʷã=ŋõ/
3SG.NOM see=1SG
“He saw me.”

(5) /bʷẽ-ĩ/
head-2SG
“your head”

Moreover, the first-person singular pronoun /jɔ/ appears as /õ/ when it follows possessive classifier /tĩ/ (for instance, /warrawa tĩ=õ/ bread PCLF.FOOD1=1SG “my bread to eat”) (see also 3.2.1.3), and it appears /ŋeã/ when it combines with the genitive preposition /ɣi/.

2.5 Prosody

2.5.1 Stress

Stress is not distinctive in 'Ôrôê. In words, it generally falls on the penultimate syllable. The syllables that receive stress are underlined:

ai “to marry” *ighù* “to cook” *nene* “fire” *puie* “to open” *avavoa* “ladybug”

When the word final is long vowel, the stress falls on the last vowel.

pèèrii “to roll” *jouu* “waterfall” *maimii* “hungry”

2.5.2 Intonation

Content words (such as verbs or nouns) tend to receive higher pitch in sentences. There are at least two types of intonation patterns: [1] falling at the end of a sentence and [2] raising at the end of a sentence. Declarative and imperative sentences have the first intonation patterns examples of these are presented below (example (6) is a declarative sentence and (7) is an imperative sentence), with pitch levels labeled as /1/ lowest, /2/ mid, /3/ higher, and /4/ highest (cf. Osumi 1995: 26).

(6) 1 3 3 1 2 3 3 1
i *mwere* *nâ* *âgë* *ghi=è*
3SG.NOM break NOM car GEN=3SG
“His car is broken.”

(7) 4 4 2 3 3 1
tâwo *wakè* *ghi=i*
begin work GEN=2SG
“Begin your work.”

In interrogative sentences, constituent interrogatives (8) have an intonation pattern [1], and polar interrogatives (9) have an intonation pattern [2]:

(8)	1	3 3	1	31	
	i	*mwere*	*nâ*	*djiè*	
	3SG.NOM	break	NOM	what	
	"What is broken?"				
(9)	1	4 4	2	3 3	4 4
	i	*mwere*	*nâ*	*âgë*	*ghi=è*
	3SG.NOM	break	NOM	car	GEN=3SG
	"Is his car broken?"				

3. Word classes

3.1 Words, affixes, and clitics

A word can combine with syntactic arguments at a phrase or clause level. It may be a single free morpheme or the produce of derivational processes applied to a bound root. A clitic is defined as a word that is phonologically dependent on a neighboring word (cf. Zwicky 1994) and only attaches to some words or roots. The host of a clitic is not restricted to one particular word class. An affix is a bound morpheme and it always bound to a particular word class. The boundary between the clitic and their hosts will be presented by "=", and the boundary of affix will be presented by "-".

3.2 Word classes

In 'Ôrôê, the following eight word classes can be identified: nominals, verbs, nominal modifiers, verbal modifiers, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. Word classes are distinguished mainly by syntactic functions and distributions. Nominals and verbs can both be predicates. Nominals and verbs are distinguished by the fact that nominals can follow the prepositions whereas verbs cannot. Nominal modifiers, verbal modifiers, and adverbs usually appear before or after nouns or verbs modifying them. The difference between these will be discussed in 3.2.3, 3.2.4, and 3.2.5. Prepositions and conjunctions introduce certain grammatical elements such as phrases or clauses. Interjections do not have a grammatical relationship with any other words. In 'Ôrôê, adjectives are realized as stative verbs (see 3.2.2).

3.2.1 Nominals

Nominals include nouns, pronouns, possessive classifiers, and numerals.

3.2.1.1 Nouns

Nouns are preceded by prepositions and serve as subject or object arguments of verbs and as topicalized arguments. They serve as heads of noun phrases but also serve as modifiers of other nouns, following head nouns.

Nouns are morphologically divided into two subclasses: free and bound nouns. A free noun can occur independently, whereas a bound noun must be attached to another noun or pronoun representing its possessor; ***pimè-****taiki* (eye-dog) “dog’s eye.” ***gawi-****jò* (hand-1SG) “my hand.” Most nouns are free, and bound nouns are limited to body part words, kinship words, and attributive nouns. They are considered semantically to be inalienably possessed (Osumi 1995: 59). This will be discussed in 5.1.

3.2.1.2 Pronouns

There are three types of pronouns: [1] personal pronouns, [2] demonstrative pronouns, and [3] interrogative pronouns.

[1] Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns show the common Oceanic inclusive/exclusive distinction (whether or not the addressee is included) in the first person nonsingular forms, and also distinguish singular, dual, and plural (cf. Lynch, Ross and Crowly 2002: 35). Like those of other New Caledonian languages, personal pronouns in 'Ôrôê have three forms according to their position in a clause: independent, subject, and object/possessive forms (Osumi 1995:39). Realis and the irrealis forms occur for subject form pronouns. Irrealis forms of subject pronouns only occur in imperative and subordinate clauses.

Table 3. Personal pronouns

	Independent	Subject		Object/Possessor
		Realis	Irrealis	
1SG	gòjò	'ô	mo	jò/ nyô
2SG	gèi	nge	mange	i/î
3SG	tjè	i	ma	è
1DU.INCL	ârru	du	marru	rru
1DU.EXCL	âvu	bu	mavu	vu
2DU	âghu	gu	maghu	u
3DU	âru	ru	maru	ru
1PL.INCL	âre	de	marre	rre
1PL.EXCL	âve	be	mave	ve
2PL	âghe	ge	maghe	we
3PL	âre	re	mare	re

Independent forms can serve as subject NPs in emphatic or imperative expressions, and are introduced by the nominative preposition *nâ*. They can also form clauses by themselves (for example, *gòjò* "It's me"). This form is also used when a pronoun is topicalized. The subject form is used as a subject pronoun preceding predicates (verbs or nouns). Some verbal modifiers or conjunctions may occur between the subject pronouns and predicates. The object/possessive form occurs as an enclitic to verbs, prepositions, or possessive classifiers, and occurs as suffix on the bound nouns.

[2] Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur as the object of verbs, the object of prepositions, or the modifiers of NPs. They are used for indicating some particular point in space (deixis) or referring to something in discourse (anaphoric reference). Three deictic forms are used: *nâ* "near the speaker," *vè* "near the hearer," and *nî* "distant from both the speaker and hearer." When they appear as objects of verbs or prepositions, they refer to places ("here," "there," and "over there"), but when they follow nouns, they serve as modifiers ("this," "that," and "that over there"). For anaphoric reference, *nâ* "this" and *vè* "that" are used to refer to things, and *=i* "that place" is used to refer to places.

[3] Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns include *djiè* “what,” *djaa* “who,” *kênîwî* “how many,” *wè* “where,” and *ânî* “when,” which will be discussed in 7.1.

3.2.1.3 Possessive Classifiers

Possessive classifiers identify the possessive relationships between the possessed nouns and the possessor nouns (pronouns). So far, five possessive classifiers have been identified: *tî* “for food such as starches (FOOD1),” *o* “for food such as meat, fishes or vegetables (FOOD2),” *ii* “for sugar cane,” *'ôjò* “for drink,” *gi* “for other possession.” These must be followed by possessor nouns or pronouns. They occur both in post-nominal (10) and pre-nominal positions (11) (see also 5.1).

(10)	*gwâ*	*o*	*ürra*	*vè*		(11)	*'ôjò=è*	*gwâ*
	coconut	PCLF.FOOD2	child	DEM:MID			PCLF.DRINK=3PL	coconut
	“the coconut of that child to eat”						“his coconut to drink”	

3.2.1.4 Numerals

There are only five numerals: *rrakê* “one,” *kêaru* “two,” *kêrere* “three,” *kêvèè* “four,” *kênî* “five.” To represent numbers over six, numerals from one to five are combined: *kênî mè rrakê* (five and one) “six,” *kênî mè kêaru* (five and two) “seven,” for instance. Numerals are free morphemes and like nouns, can be the arguments of verbs. When numerals modify head nouns, they precede them: *kêaru taiki* (two dog) “two dogs.” Numerals rarely occur by themselves as NPs.

3.2.2 Verbs

Predicate verbs are always preceded by subject pronouns. There are intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, and the former do not take accusative objects, whereas the latter can take accusative objects (I will present examples of this in chapter 6). Intransitive verbs can be divided into action verbs and stative verbs. Stative verbs correspond to so-called adjectives in languages such as English or Japanese. Morphologically, there are free-form and bound-form verbs.

3.2.3 Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers occur with noun phrases and modify them. Nominal modifiers can be divided into two types syntactically: pre-head and post-head. The former include determiners such as *de* “the (SG),” *pârâ* “many,” and the latter include *kâpo* “all” and *rro* “only.” These examples will be demonstrated in 5.1.

3.2.4 Verbal modifiers

Verbal modifiers usually occur with verbs modifying them, but they also modify nominal predicates (see the example (27) in 5.3.1). Verbal modifiers can be divided in two types syntactically: pre-head and post-head. Pre-head verbal modifiers include tense markers, aspect markers, mood markers, and negative markers. They occur between the subject pronoun and predicates. Post-head verbal modifiers comprise aspect markers and modifiers indicating manner or degree. Post-head verbal modifiers always occur before any objects of verbs.

3.2.5 Adverbs

Adverbs function as modifiers of verb phrases or whole sentences. They occur freely in the post-predicate position. They are distinguished from verbal modifiers in that they can appear either before or after the object NPs of verbs. For example, the verbal modifier *wai* “already” should always occur before the object of verbs as shown in (12), on the other hand, the adverb *jawimâ* “in the past” can appear after the object of the verb, as shown in (13):

(12) *re* *wò* *tâ-ma* ***wai*** *rra* *poka* *vè*
3PL.NOM PST by.shooting-die already SG pig DEM:MID
“They had already killed the pig by shooting.”

(13) *i* *kâ-wiri* *rrèmwââ* ***jawimâ*** *nâ* *gèè*
3SG.NOM by.grasping-stuck eel in.the.past NOM grandmother
“Grandmother used to catch the eel by hands in the past.”

Some adverbs (such as *moîenâvè* “now,” *tòònu* “always,” and *rrariivè* “in the future”) can be topicalized (see 7.11).

3.2.6 Prepositions

Prepositions express a grammatical relationship between noun phrases and predicates or other nominals. The prepositions for nominal are the following: *nâ*, nominative; *i/ghi*[1], genitive1; *ne*, genitive2; *jè,* dative; *rra*, ablative1; *ghè*, ablative2; *rro,* locative; *nâ*, allative1; *wa*, allative2; *ê*, instrumental1; *pè*, instrumental2; *veri*, comitative; *noa,* the preposition indicating purpose; and *ghaî*, the preposition indicating time.

3.2.7 Conjunctions

There are two types of conjunctions: coordinative and subordinative. Coordinate conjunctions are used to combine elements (words, phrases, clauses) with equal grammatical status. Subordinate conjunctions such as complementizers or relativizers function as introducers of subordinate clauses. Each conjunction will be presented in 8.2 and 8.3.

3.2.8 Interjections

Interjections are independent words; they can also occur by themselves. They consist of both discourse response-type of interjections (such as *üü* "yes," *oi* "ok," *bwa* "no," *a'ê* "I don't want to," etc) and emotional types of interjections expressing surprise (such as *aiiwa*, an expression of sympathy; *auu,* an expression of anger; *kaa*, etc. The usages of *üü* "yes" and *bwa* "no" are the same as *yes* and *no* in English. For example, if one respond *üü* "yes" to the question "*i da 'ôjò kavè*" (3SG.NOM NEG drink coffee) "Doesn't he drink coffee?," the response implies "He drinks coffee."

4. Morphology

4.1 Overview (affixation, compounding, reduplication)

Affixation and compounding are found in nominal and verbal morphology. Reduplication is not productively used in 'Ôrôê. There are two nouns (*nene* "fire" and *rârâ* "noise") and three verbs (*mâmâ* "light," *rürü* "shake," and *rrârrâ* "grill") that appear reduplicated, although, the meanings of their original monosyllabic forms are not clear.

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[1] *ghi* is the allomorph of preposition *i,* which appears before pronouns.

4.2 Nominal morphology

'Ôrôê has both prefixes that derive nominals from nominals, and prefixes that nominalize verbs. There are five nominal-to-nominal prefixes; one such example is the prefix *o-*, which adds the meaning of a particular place (*o-mwèrè* (o-trace) "behind"). There are nine prefixes that nominalize verbs, such as the prefix *a-*, which indicates an agent, as in *a-taü* (a-lazy) "idler," and *a-roê* (a-angry) "villain"; and the prefix *mè-*, which indicates location as in *mè-juaa* (mè-sit) "chair."

Examples of noun compounding are *pò-gawi* (root-hand) "shoulder," *mwâ-nene* (house-fire) "lamp," and *pimè-'arrî* (eye-daylight) "watch."

4.3 Verbal morphology

'Ôrôê has both prefixes and suffixes that form verbs from verbs. Event-classifying prefixes (cf. Osumi and Tsuji 2009) are the verbal prefixes indicating certain actions or movements integrated with body parts or instruments; they attach verb stems denoting the resulting states of an object. They derive transitive verbs from intransitive verbs or transitive verbs. Examples of derived verbs are *te-ma* (step.on-dead) "to kill by stepping on," *kâ-ma* (grab-dead) "to kill by grabbing," *tâ-ma* (shoot-dead) "to kill by shooting," *jò-ma* (hitting with a long knife-dead) "to kill by hitting with a long knife." The causative prefix *pè-* attaches to intransitive or transitive verbs and increases valency (see 7.8.1), and the reciprocal/reflexive prefix *wo-* usually attaches to transitive verbs and decreases valency (see 7.8.2).

Verbal suffixes include the transitive suffix *-i*, which derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbs (for example, *i 'a* (3SG.NOM laugh) "He laughs." → *i 'a-i=jò* (3SG.NOM laugh-TR=1SG) "He laughs at me."); and directional suffixes such as *-rrua* "upward," *-jaa* "downward," *-koa* "far," and *-rrü* "into."

Examples of compounding verbs are *kò-weja* (soul-good) "like" and *kò-uwo* (soul-beautiful) "be proud of."

5. Syntactic structure

5.1 The noun phrase

Head nouns in noun phrases can be modified by numerals, nominal modifiers, prepositional phrases (prepositions and noun complexes), relative clauses, or demonstrative pronouns. Pre-head nominal modifiers and numerals precede head nouns as shown below.

(14) *de* *'ôjowe*
DET woman
"another woman"

(15) *kêaru* *taiki*
two dog
"two dogs"

Post-head nominal modifiers, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, or demonstrative pronouns occur after the head noun. Shown below is an example of a relative clause, *a mëë*, and a demonstrative pronoun *vè* modifying the head noun.

(16) *kêrere* *bè'ê* *a* *mëë* *vè*
three tree REL dry DEM:MID
"those three dried-up trees"

In addition, nouns can modify other nouns. Nouns indicating numbers and genders tend to precede head nouns (17), whereas nouns indicating types or sorts tend to follow head nouns (18).

(17) *pêdurrakê* *'ôjowe* *pèè-jaani*
some woman grandchild-PN
"some granddaughters of Jaani"

(18) *'âru* *ne'ò*
creeper forest
"the creeper of forest"

The word order of a proper and common noun is that a proper noun follows a common noun: *mègë 'ôrôê* (language PN) "language of 'ôrôê."

As in other Oceanic languages, possessive constructions in 'Ôrôê express both direct and indirect possession. If the possessed noun is a bound noun, the possessor nouns or pronouns are suffixed to them (direct possession). On the other hand, if the possessed noun is a free noun, a possessive classifier or genitive1 preposition *i/ghi* intervenes between the possessed noun and possessor noun or pronoun (indirect possession). Shown below are examples of direct possession, (19) and (20); and indirect possession with prepositions, (21) and (22). (The example of indirect possession with a possessive classifier is shown in 3.2.1.3)

Direct possession

(19) *gawi-pol*
hand-PN
"Pol's hand"

(20) *pimè-è*
eye-3SG
"his eyes"

Indirect possession

(21) *jaakè i pol*
bag GEN PN
"Pol's bag"

(22) *nyînyâ ghi=è*
mother GEN=3SG
"his mother"

Coordinated noun phrases are connected by conjunctions *mè* "and" or *ra* "or;" *nò mè rrèmwââ* (fish CONJN eel) "fish and eel," *rrakê rra kêaru* (one CONJN two) "one or two."

5.2 The verb phrase

Verbs are obligatory in verb phrases. Pre-head verbal modifiers occur before verbs. Post-head verbal modifiers occur after verbs and object clitic pronouns, but before object NPs. Prepositional phrase modifiers usually follow free NP objects. Adverbials can occur freely in a post-head position.

A verb phrase may consist of two or more verbs. Such verb serializations are common in 'Ôrôê as well as in other New Caledonian or Oceanic languages. Examples of verb serializations found so far comprise two or three verbs. Semantically, verb serializations can express cause and effect, simultaneous action, or manner and direction. Below are some examples:

(23) *'ô pwa tjiâ pokaî* (cause–effect)
1SG.NOM arrive fly bird
"I arrived and as a result a bird flies."

(24) *i vârâ ve jôwo* (manner)
3SG.NOM walk go slow
"He walks slowly."

5.3 Clause structure and word order

There are two types of clauses in 'Ôrôê: verbless and verbal clauses.

5.3.1 Verbless clauses

A verbless clause generally involves two NPs, and can have two types of structure. In type [a], the predicate NP (the first NP) and the subject NP (the second NP) are connected by the nominative preposition *nâ*.

[a]	predicate NP	*nâ*	subject NP
(25)	*ne-è*	*nâ*	*jajuè*
	name-3SG	NOM	PN
	" Jajuè is her name."		

In type [b], the predicate NP is preceded by a subject pronoun (represented by "s" below), which agrees with the subject NP in person and number:

[b]	s	predicate NP	*nâ*	subject NP		
(26)	*ru*	*duduapeî*	*nâ*	*jaani*	*mè*	*marijòò*
	3DU.NOM	cross.cousins	NOM	PN	CONJN	PN
	"Jaani and Marijòò are cross-cousins."					

Type [b] can include tense or negative markers, whereas [a] cannot.

(27)	*i*	*wò*	*jèvü*	*nâ*	*ùrò*
	3SG.NOM	PST	chief	NOM	PN
	"Ùrò was a chief."				

This type of clause expresses equation or proper inclusion. I will explain this in detail in 7.3.

5.3.2 Verbal clauses

A verbal clause consists of a verb phrase that is obligatorily preceded by a subject personal pronoun. The structure of the intransitive clause is shown below. The word order is (S)VS.

Intransitive clause:	s (S)	VP	*nâ*	NP (S)
(28)	*i*	*weja*	*nâ*	*neraa*
	3SG.NOM	good	NOM	weather
	"The weather is good."			

The word order of a transitive clause is (A)VOA as represented below:

Transitive clause:	s (A)	VP	NP(O)	*nâ*	NP (A)
(29)	*i*	*rrârrâ*	*rrèmwââ*	*nâ*	*bureji*
	3SG.NOM	grill	eel	NOM	PN
	"Bureji grilled eel."				

6. Grammatical relations (subjects and objects)

6.1 Subjects

Subjects of predicates are represented by subject pronouns preceding predicates or by a subject NP introduced by the nominative preposition *nâ* following the predicate. The subject pronoun agrees in person and number with the subject noun phrase preceded by *nâ*. In (30), the subject pronoun *ru* agrees in person and number with the subject noun phrase *anii mè jajuè*:

(30)	***ru***	*djòi*	*nò*	*nâ*	***anii***	***mè***	***jajuè***
	3DU.NOM	scrape	fish	NOM	PN	CONJN	PN
	"Anii and Jajuè scraped the scales off a fish."						

When the subject is in first or second person, normally, only a subject pronoun is used, and the subject NP does not appear.

(31)	***'ô***	*iri*	*kavè*
	1SG.NOM	gather	coffee
	"I gathered coffee beans."		

Subjects generally have nominative case, but can have genitive case in some subordinate clause types (see 8.3).

6.2 Objects

Direct objects appear without any prepositions or markers representing grammatical relations. Zero marking is thus is the realization of accusative case in this language.

(32)	*i*	*tâ-ghèè*	***miu***	*nâ*	*marrio*
	3SG.NOM	by.shooting-injured	flying.fox	NOM	PN
	"Marrio shot a flying fox."				

When the direct object is a personal pronoun, the object form of the personal pronoun is used (as *=jò* in the example below). The indirect object or other peripheral arguments are introduced by prepositions (as *jè jaani* in the example below).

(33)	*i*	*para=**jò***	***jè***	***jaani***	*nâ*	*ujènii*
	3SG.NOM	show=1SG	DAT	PN	NOM	PN
	"Ujènii presented me to Jaani."					

7. Functional categories

7.1 Interrogatives

There are at least two ways of expressing polar interrogatives. The first one by rising intonation (see 2.5.2), and the second by use of the question particle *rra* (conjunction "or") sentence finally:

(34)	*nge*	*'ôjò*	*kavè*	*rra*
	2SG.NOM	drink	coffee	Q
	"Do you drink coffee (or not)?"			

In constituent interrogatives, interrogative pronouns *djiè* "what," *djaa* "who," *wè* "where," *ânî* "when," and *ôrôwè* "how" usually occur in the same structural slot as the questioned constituent. Below are sentences with *djiè* "what" and *wè* "where".

(35)	*nge*	*'arra*	*djiè*
	2SG.NOM	eat	what
	"What did you eat?"		

(36)	*i*	*wakè*	*rro*	*wè*
	3SG.NOM	work	LOC	where
	"Where does he work?"			

rèwinâ "why" usually occurs in the final position of the sentence:

(37)	*i*	*da*	*ërrii*	*warawa*	*rrèwinâ*
	3SG.NOM	NEG	buy	bread	why
	"Why didn't he buy some bread?"				

7.2 Imperatives

An imperative sentence for second person usually consists of verb and object nouns and does not include a subject pronoun preceding the verb.

(38) *pè-borowi* *wakè* *ghi=i*
CAUS-finish work GEN=2SG
"Finish your work."

Imperative sentences for first person (39) or third person (40) begin with irrealis forms of subject pronouns (see 3.2.1.2).

(39) *marru* *tâwo* *wakè* *ghi=rru*
1DU.INCL.IRR.NOM begin work GEN=1DU.INCL
"Let's begin our work."

(40) *ma* *tori* *nâ* *mè* *pei* *i* *nepwe-jò*
3SG.IRR.NOM stop NOM NMLZ hurt GEN stomach-1SG
"Be calm, the pain in my stomach."

7.3 Equation, proper inclusion, location, and possession

Equation is expressed by either verbless clauses or by using topic marker *rrè*. (41) is an example of verbless clause of type [a], (in 5.3.1) and (42) is an example using topic marker *rrè* (see 7.11):

(41) *nyînyâ* *ghi=è* *nâ* *jaani*
mother GEN=3SG NOM PN
"Jaani is her mother."

(42) *jaani* *rrè* *nyînyâ* *ghi=è*
PN TOP mother GEN=3SG
"Jaani is her mother."

The topic marker *rrè* is often used to express proper inclusion, as shown in a following example:

(43) *bureji* *rrè* *'ê* *a* *kùù*
PN TOP man REL dance
"Bureji is a dancer."

Location is encoded by the verb *tòò* "be at":

(44) *i* *tòò* *ômwâ* *ghi=è* *nâ* *jajuè*
3SG.NOM be.at house GEN=3SG NOM PN
"Jajuè is at home."

Possession is expressed by the verbs *tòò* “be at” or *wi* “exist”:

(45) *i* *tòò* *ghi=è* *nâ* *'oerrë* *dònepê*
3SG.NOM be.at GEN=3SG NOM blood native
“He has a blood of native people.”

(46) *i* *wi* *nâ* *kêaru* *taiki* *ghi=è*
3SG.NOM exist NOM two dog GEN=3SG
“He has two dogs. (Literary: Two dogs of his exist.)”

7.4 Case

Case on nouns is represented mainly by prepositions (see 3.2.6). Accusative case is unmarked in this language, as previously noted. Prepositions are used to realize nominative, genitive, dative, ablative, allative, locative, and instrumental cases.

7.5 Noun class (Gender)

'Ôrôê has no noun class or grammatical gender, but has some interesting word usages related to gender. For instance, *neduâê* “dual boys” and *nepâê* “plural boys” can be used only for boys, but the *nedü* “dual girls,” and *nepèü* “plural girls” can be also used for pairs containing a boy and a girl and groups of boys and girls, respectively.

Another example related to gender is the usage of *bobeârrî* “grandmother” to refer to the moon and *beârî* “grandfather” to refer to the sun.

7.6 Person

Pronouns in 'Ôrôê are distinguished in first, second, and third person. Non-singular first person have both inclusive and exclusive forms. 'Ôrôê also has a subject pronoun *ê*, which indicate no particular person, as shown in (47).

(47) *ê* *'âmwî* *jaakè* *nâ* *rro* *japô*
SOMEONE.NOM make bag DEM:NEAR LOC PN
“People made this bag in Japan. (This bag was made in Japan.)”

7.7 Number

Nominal prefixes indicate number on nouns: *'ê-*, singular; *du-,* dual; and *pè-,* plural. *'ê-* and *du-* can be used with both human and non-human nouns, but *pè-* can be used only with human nouns.

'ê-gèè	(SG-grandmother)	"the one grandmother"
du-gèè	(DU-grandmother)	"these two grandmothers"
pè-gèè	(PL-grandmother)	"these several grandmothers"

7.8 Valency-changing

'Ôrôê has both a valence-increasing operation (causative) and a valence-decreasing operation (reciprocal and reflexive).

7.8.1 Valence-increasing operations

Causatives are expressed by using the causative prefix *pè-* or by using *kâ-*, one of the event-classifying prefixes, which usually means "by hand, by grasping." *kâ-* tends to be applied to stative intransitive verbs, and *pè-* tends to be applied to active intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. *Kâ-* expresses more direct causation and *pè-* expresses indirect causation.

(48) *'ô* *kâ-woro=è*
1SG.NOM CAUS-escape=3SG
"I made him escape (I did him something directly and caused him escape)."

(49) *'ô* *pè-woro=è*
1SG.NOM CAUS-escape=3SG
"I let him escape (I told him to escape)."

7.8.2 Valence-decreasing operations

In 'Ôrôê, reciprocals and reflexives are encoded by the same verbal prefix *wo-*:

(50) *re* *wo-ja=re*
3PL.NOM RECP-hit=3PL
"They fought each other."

(51) *'ô* *dè* *wo-'ôwai=jò* *weja*
1SG.NOM ASS RECP-know=1SG good
"I know myself well."

7.9 Negation

Negation is encoded by the pre-head verbal modifier *da*, which precedes verbs and other verbal modifiers. Negative imperatives are expressed with the pre-head verbal modifier *wara*:

(52)	*i*	*da*	*jèè*	*ve*	*nâ*	*potè*	*nâ*	*pol*
	3SG.NOM	NEG	FUT	go	ALL	PN	NOM	PN
	"Pol will not go to Pothé."							
(53)	*wara*	*tâ-ghèè*			*miu*		*vè*	
	PROH	by.shooting-injured			flying.fox		DEM:MID	
	"Don't shoot that flying fox."							

7.10 Tense, Aspect, and Mood

Tense, aspect, and mood are encoded by verbal modifiers (3.2.4). Tense markers are are *jèè* "near future," *ve* "future," and *wò* "remote past." Present and past tense are default interpretations in the absence of tense markers. Aspect markers include *bâ* "habitual," *tua* "progressive," *tò* "stative," *juu* "inchoative," *mârâ* "repetition," *bwiri* "repetition," and *wa* "continuous." Mood markers are *ôrô* "probably," *wê* "emphatic," *dè* "assertive," and *dò* "really." Pre-verbal modifiers appear in the order below; post-verbal modifiers appear in free order.

pre-verbal modifiers: *ôrô* "probably," *jèè* "near future," *wê* "emphatic,"
dè "assertive", *dò* "really," *wò* "remote past," *bâ* "habitual,"
tua "progressive," *ve* "future," *tò* "stative," *juu* "inchoative"

7.11 Information structure (topic and focus)

Topic is marked by *rrè* (the conjunction "that is"), which draws attention to the topicalized word. Proper nouns, free common nouns, independent form of pronouns, and free adverbs can be topics. Grammatical functions that can be topicalized are subjects of intransitive verbs (S) or transitive verbs (A), objects of transitive verbs (O), and possessors of subjects of intransitive verbs (S). In the schema below, s represents the subject pronoun and V the verb:

[1] subject fronting:	s V	*nâ*	S	→ S	*rrè*	s V
	s V O	*nâ*	A	→ A	*rrè*	s V O
[2] object fronting:	s V O	*nâ*	A	→ O	*rrè*	s V *nâ* A
[3] possessor fronting:	s V O	*nâ*	S-possessor	→ possessor	*rrè*	s V O *nâ* S

Below is an example of object fronting, which is used to express a passive-like meaning. (54) is the sentence before topicalization, and (55) is the sentence after topicalization.

(54) *i* *tâ-ma* ***poka*** *nâ* *eri*
3SG.NOM by.shooting-die pig NOM PN
"Eri killed a pig by shooting."

(55) ***poka*** *vè* *rrè* *i* *tâ-ma* *nâ* *eri*
pig DEM:MID TOP 3SG.NOM by.shooting-die NOM PN
"A pig, Eri killed it by shooting." (A pig was killed by Eri by shooting.)

In (56) below, *neme pè-ürra ghi=i* is the subject of intransitive verb (S), and its possessor (*pè-ürra ghi=i*) is topicalized in (57)

(56) *i* *vòrü* *nâ* *[neme* ***pè-ürra*** ***ghi=i]***
3SG.NOM resemble NOM face PL-child GEN=2SG
"The faces of your children resemble each other."

(57) ***[pè-ürra*** ***ghi*** ***=i]*** *rrè* *i* *vòrü* *nâ* *neme-re*
PL-child GEN =2SG TOP 3SG.NOM resemble NOM face-3PL
"Your children, their faces resemble each other."

Moreover, adverbs or adverbial phrases can be also topicalized.

(58) *jawimâ* *rrè* *de* *wò* *vârâ* *nâ* *burrai*
in.the.past TOP 1PL.INCL.NOM PST walk ALL PN
"In the past, we used to walk to Bourail."

8. Clause combining

8.1 Overview of clause combining

There are two types of clause combining; coordination and subordination. In coordination, two clauses of equal grammatical status are combined. In subordination, one clause is dependent on the other. There are three types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses.

8.2 Coordination

There are two types of coordination; [1] coordination with conjunction, and [2] coordination without conjunction. Almost all coordinate sentences are type [1]. In [1], two clauses are combined with conjunctions such as *bore* "then, and," *rra* "or," *a* "but," and *rrè* "that is." All of these conjunctions can combine clauses with the same subject or with different subjects. In the following example, clauses are

coordinated by the conjunction *a* “but.”

(59) *i* *dè* *'ui* *'au* *a* *du* *jèè* *dè* *ve*
3SG.NOM ASS rain big CONJN 1DU.INCL.NOM FUT ASS go
“It rains hard, but we will go.”

In [2], two clauses are juxtaposed. In this construction, only the clauses with same subject can be combined.

(60) *i* *da* *japonè* *i* *da* *jinowa* *bwarrù*
3SG.NOM NEG Japanese 3SG.NOM NEG Chinese also
“He is neither Japanese nor Chinese.”

8.3 Subordination

8.3.1Complement clause

There are two types of structures for complement clauses:

[1] *mè* VP NP(O) *i* NP(S/A)
[2] *nâmè* s VP NP(O) *nâ* NP(S/A)

In [1], the nominalizer *mè*[2] is preposed to a predicate verb of a clause, and the subject NP is encoded by the genitive preposition *i/ghi*. In [2], clauses with subject pronouns follow the complementizer *nâmè* and the subject NP of the clause is encoded by nominative preposition *nâ*. Complement clauses function as the subjects or objects of the main predicate. Subject complement clauses have structures of type [1], as shown in example below.

(61) *i* *tò* *nôrô* *wai* *nâ* *mè* *tòkòjè* *bureji* *i* *jaani*
3SG.NOM STAT long already NOM NMLZ look.for PN GEN PN
“It was long that Jaani looked for Bureji.”
(Jaani looked for Bureji for a long time.)

Object complement clauses can take either type [1] or [2] structures, depending on the matrix verbs. A list of verbs and their complement clause types ([1] or [2]) is presented in Table 4. *pârâ* “hear” and *nâmwâ* “see” can take the complement clauses of both types [1] and [2].

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[2] *mè* also functions as a prefix, which derives nouns (see 4.2 Nominal morphology).

Table 4. Type of verbs and the type of complement clauses

	matrix verb	ex.
[1]	*borowi* "finish," *tâwo* "start," *tòore* "wait," *kòweja* "like," *âmwî* "do," *jaapèrraa* "prohibit," *pètjiri* "imitate," *pârâ* "hear," *nâmwâ* "see"	(62)
[2]	*pârâ* "hear," *nâmwâ* "see," *'ôwai* "know," *'êneme* "think," *tònurî* "forget," *tòneme kòarri* "remember," *uijâ* "decide," *ju* "write," *tòpê* "doubt," *ârînoa* "ask," *ârî* "say," *tòneme* "think," *'uju* "lie"	(63)

(62) *de* *tòore* *mè* *jèè* *weja* *i* *neraa*
1PL.INCL.NOM wait NMLZ FUT good GEN weather
"We wait that the weather will be good."

(63) *'ô* *tòneme* *nâmè* *i* *ërrii* *warawa* *wai* *nâ* *jaani*
1SG.NOM think COMP 3SG.NOM pay bread already NOM PN
"I think that Jaani has already bought some bread."

The verbs *ârî* "say" and *tòneme* "think" can take complement clauses with subject pronouns in irrealis form (see 3.2.1.2). Shown below is an example of *tòneme* "think":

(64) *'ô* *tòneme* *nâmè* *ma* *ërrii* *warawa* *nâ* *bureji*
1SG.NOM think COMP 3SG.IRR.NOM pay bread NOM PN
"I hope that Bureji buys some bread."

8.3.2Relative clauses

Relative clauses function as a nominal modifiers placed after head nouns. A relative clause always begins with a relativizer, *a*[3] or *vè*[4]. In terms of Keenan and Comrie's accessibility hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 66), relative clause using *a* or *vè* are accessible to relativization as follows.

	subject	direct object	indirect object	oblique	possessor
a type	+	+	-	-	+
vè type	+	+	+	+	+

[3] *a* has the same form as the prefix *a-,* which derives nouns (see 4.2 Nominal morphology).
[4] *vè* can be considered as the demonstrative pronoun *vè* "that" (see 3.2.1.2 Pronouns).

The relative marker *a* relativizes subjects, direct objects, or possessors. When subjects or possessors are relativized, the relative clause does not contain a subject pronoun preceding predicate phrase. Shown below are examples:

(65) *'ò* *a* *da* *vârâ* *maari*
person REL NEG walk fast
"the person who doesn't walk fast (his attribute)"

(66) *rra* *'ôjowe* *a* *tòò* *numèa* *nâ* *peni-è*
SG woman REL stay PN NOM mother-3SG
"the woman whose mother is in Nouméa"

This type of relative clause can also modify direct objects. In this case, the subject pronoun *ê*, indicating no particular person, precedes the predicate phrase in the relative clause. Normally, the subject pronoun *ê* does not occur with a particular subject NP (see 7.6). In this case, however, the subject NP (Pol) is introduced by the genitive preposition *i /ghi*.

(67) *poka* *a* *ê* *jòma* *i* *pol*
pig REL SOMEONE.NOM kill GEN PN
"the pig which Pol killed (the pig which was killed by Pol[5])"

The relative marker *vè* is used to revitalize subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, oblique NPs, or possessors. When the subject or the possessor of the subject is relativized, the relative clause, like those using *a* (as shown in (65) and (66)), does not contain a subject pronoun preceding the predicate phrase:

(68) *rra* *'ôjowe* *vè* *wò* *kèri* *ômwâ* *vè*
SG woman REL PST burn(vt) house DEM:MID
"the woman who burned that house"

(69) *rra* *'ôjowe* *vè* *kê* *nâ* *ômwâ* *ghi=è*
SG woman REL burn(vi) NOM house GEN=3SG
"the woman whose house was burned"

[5] This construction was found when speakers of 'Ôrôê translated the passive relative clause in French (*le cochon qui a été tué par Paul* "the pig which was killed by Paul") into their language.

When this type of relative clause modifies direct objects, indirect objects, or oblique NPs, it does contains the subject pronoun. Shown below is an example of a case with a direct object:

(70) *warawa vè i rrava jè =jò nâ pol*
bread REL 3SG.NOM give DAT =1SG NOM PN
"the bread that Pol gave me"

8.3.3Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that serve an "adverbial" function (Payne 1997:316) in the sentence. In 'Ôrôê, an adverbial clause is usually introduced by a subordinating morpheme. There are two types of constructions after these subordinating morphemes.

[1] subordinating morphemes *mè* VP NP(O) *i* NP(S/A)
[2] subordinating morphemes s VP NP(O) *nâ* NP(S/A)

The form of [1] is used when the subordinating morphemes are *noa* "in order to," *ghè i* "because," *ra* "instead of," *ôrrô* "as," *omwèrè* "after," *wo rra* "before," *karreghèi* "since," or *pwarrua* "until."[6] Below is an example of the adverbial clause using *ghè i*:

(71) *i dò vârâ ghè i mè kâijâ ghi=è âgë ghi=è*
3SG.NOM really walk ABL GEN NMLZ break GEN=3SG car GEN=3SG
'He does walk because he broke his car.'

Form [2] is used when the subordinating morphemes are *nâ* "when/if" or *tjiè* "in order to." In adverbial clauses with *nâ* "when/if," subject pronouns can take realis or irrealis forms. In the former case, *nâ* in the adverbial clause is often interpreted as "when" as in (72); in the latter case, it is interpreted as "if," as seen in (73).

(72) *'ô tò nâmwâ pol*
3SG.NOM STAT see PN
nâ i kâwirri 'ê a owi vè
CONJN 3SG.NOM catch man REL steal DEM:MID
"I saw Pol when he caught the thief."

[6] These subordinating morphemes can also introduce nominal phrases.

(73) *nâ* *ma* *da* *wò* *'ui* *'âbwêâ*
CONJN 3SG.NOM.IRR NEG PST rain yesterday
de *borre* *jèè* *wò* *türua*
1PL.NOM CONJN FUT PST go.out
"If it had not rained yesterday, we could have gone out."

In the adverbial clause using *tjiè* "in order to," the subject pronoun is always in the irrealis form:

(74) *re* *wo-djaarü* *tjiè* *mare* *gë-i* *nô* *ne* *wakè*
3PL.NOM RECP-gather CONJN 3PL.IRR.NOM speak-TR story GEN work
"They gathered in order that they talk about work."

Adverbial clauses usually follow the main clause, though the adverbial clauses of conditional expressions with "if" seem to preceding the main clause more frequentlty (as shown in (72)). This is attested to the Greenberg's universal 14: "In conditional statements, the conditional clause precedes the conclusion as the normal order in all languages" (Greenberg 1966: 84).

9. Text: A medicine of this house

[1] ***i*** ***wò*** ***pei*** ***nâ*** ***gèè*** ***ngeâ***
i wò pei nâ gèè ngeâ
3SG.NOM PST be.sick NOM grand.mother GEN=1SG
She PST be sick NOM grand mother of=me
"My grandmother was sick."

[2] ***i*** ***pei*** ***'au*** ***nâ*** ***gèè*** ***ngeâ***
i pei 'au nâ gèè ngeâ
3SG.NOM be.sick greatly NOM grand.mother GEN=1SG
She be.sick greatly NOM grand mother of=me
"My grandmother was really sick."

[3] ***i*** ***bore*** ***wò*** ***joi***
i bore wò joi
3SG.NOM CONJN PST sick.for.a.long.time
she then PST stayed sick for a long time
"Then, she stayed sick for a long time."

[4] ***re*** ***bore*** ***tò*** ***pèghi=è*** ***rro*** ***nepê*** ***rro*** ***kikuè***
re bore tò pèghi=è rro nepê rro kikuè
3PL.NOM CONJN STAT take=3SG LOC country LOC PN
they then kept=her at country at Quicoue
"And they (her family) kept her in the village of Quicoue."

[5] ***i*** ***bore*** ***'au*** ***wai*** ***nâ*** ***mè*** ***pei*** ***i*** ***gèè***
i bore 'au wai nâ mè pei i gèè
3SG.NOM CONJN big already NOM NMLZ be.sick GEN grand.mother
it then big already NOM NMLZ be sick of grand mother
"Then, her sickness got worse."

[6] ***re*** ***bore*** ***pèghi=è*** ***tü*** ***ghaî*** ***'arrî***
re bore pèghi=è tü ghaî 'arrî
3PL.NOM CONJN take=3SG go.out TIME day
they then took=her go.out during day
bore ***pè-tori=è*** ***rro*** ***bwêdjawia*** ***vè***
bore pè-tori=è rro bwêdjawia vè
CONJN CAUS-stand=3SG LOC lawn DEM:MID
then made her stand at lawn that
"Then they (her familly) took her out of the house during the day and they made her stand on the lawn."

[7] ***rrè*** ***mètòò*** ***ne*** ***dâmâmighaîevè***
rrè mè-tòò ne dâ-mâ-mi-ghaî-evè
CONJN NMLZ-be.at GEN time-before-come-during-DEM:MID
that is the way of the time before
"Because that was how we did in the past."

[8] ***tjiè*** ***mare*** ***tò*** ***nâmwânoa*** ***nâmè*** ***ere*** ***'ê***
tjiè mare tò nâmwâ noa nâmè ere 'ê
FOR 3PL.NOM.IRR STAT watch PURP COMP some thing
for they stay watch PURP that some thing
de ***kâ-rrai*** ***bwiri*** ***wa*** ***'ôjò=è*** ***rrë***
de kâ-rrai bwiri wa 'ôjò=è rrë
1PL.INCL.NOM with.hand-broken again yet PCLF:DRINK=3SG medicine
we make a medicine again yet for her drink medicine
rra ***i*** ***tò*** ***tjêrè*** ***wai***
rra i tò tjêrè wai
CONJN 3SG.NOM STAT reverse already
or it is impossible already
"It was in order to see if they could still make a medicine for her or they could not already."

[9] ***tjiè*** ***mare*** ***tò*** ***nâmwâmwânana*** ***rro*** ***mwèrè*** ***â-è***
tjiè mare tò nâmwâ mwânana rro mwèrè â-è
for 3PL.IRR.NOM STAT watch spider.web LOC trace foot-3SG
for they stay watch spider web at trace her foot
"It was in order to check if they could see spider webs in her footsteps."

[10] ***re*** ***bore*** ***pè-rü*** ***gèè*** ***bwiri*** ***wai*** ***ghaî*** ***rerê***
re bore pè-rü gèè bwiri wai ghaî rerê
3PL.NOM CONJN take-into grand.mother again already TIME evening
they then took into grand mother again already during evening
bore ***pè-'ônaa=è***
bore pè-'ônaa=è
CONJN CAUS-sleep=3SG
then made her sleep
"Then, they took her back into the house in the evening and made her sleep."

[11]	***re***	***bore***	***türrua***	***ghaî***	***maro***
	re	bore	türrua	ghaî	maro
	3PL.NOM	CONJN	go.out	TIME	morning
	they	then	went out	during	morning

"Then they went out in the morning."

[12]	***re***	***bore***	***tò***	***nâmwâmwânana***		***vè***	***rro***	***mwèrè***	***â-è***
	re	bore	tò	nâmwâ	mwânana	vè	rro	mwèrè	â-è
	3PL.NOM	CONJN	STAT	watch	spider.web	DEM:MID	LOC	trace	foot-3sg
	they	then	stay	watch	spider web	that	at	trace	her foot

rro	***buâî***	***rro***	***bwêdjawia***	***vè***
rro	buâî	rro	bwêdjawia	vè
LOC	outside	LOC	lawn	DEM:MID
in	outside	at	lawn	that

"And they saw the spider webs on her foot steps on the grass in the lawn."

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